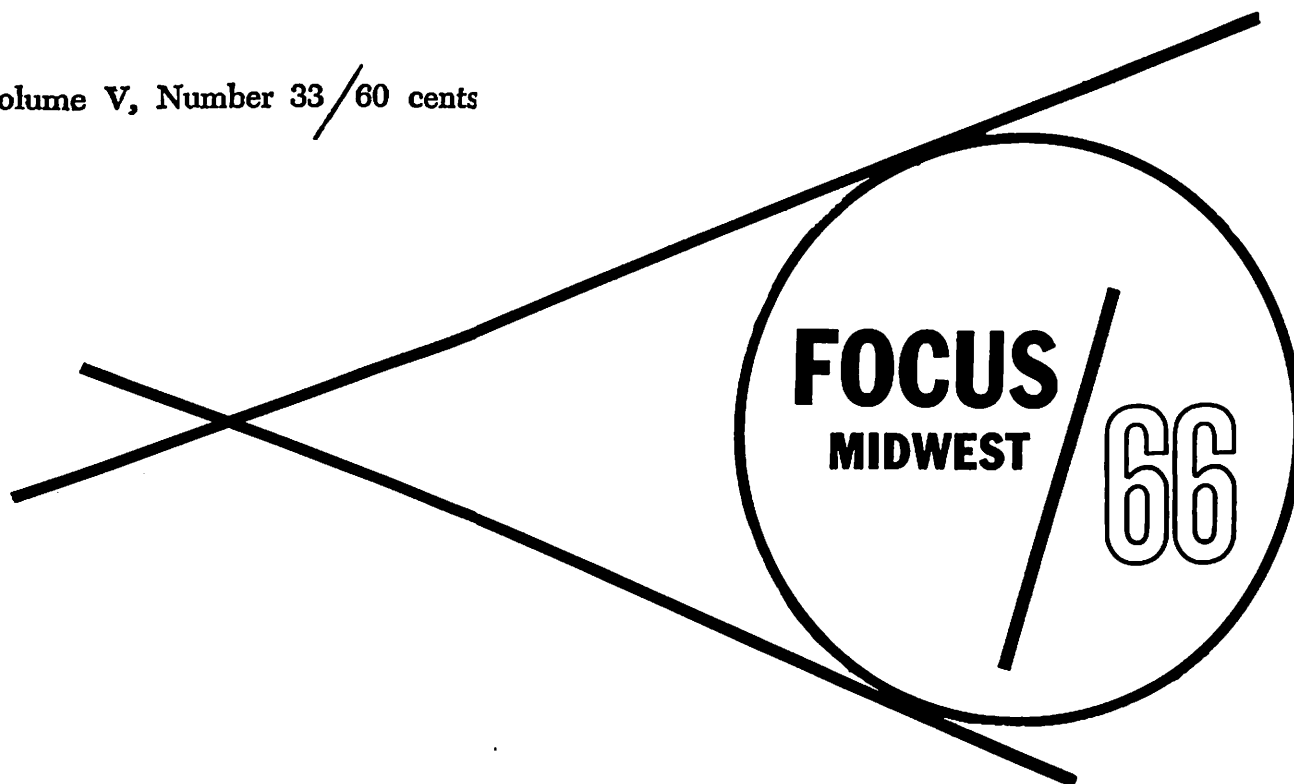


Volume V, Number 33 / 60 cents



The
CHICAGO TRIBUNE

And Truth / Jay Allen

Will The Real
LINCOLN UNIVERSITY

Please Stand Up? / Charles Young

ALSO:

Air Pollution: Everybody Talks About It But . . .

The Fighting Conservationists

OUT OF FOCUS

(Readers are invited to submit items for publication, indicating whether the sender can be identified. Items must be fully documented and not require any comment.)

The armed services are sending two generals, an admiral, a color guard, and a 20-piece Navy band to the ceremonies opening the right-wing Freedom Studies Center of the Institute for American Strategy. John M. Fisher is president of the Center, the Institute, as well as the right-wing American Security Council. Surprisingly, among the board of directors, most of them well-known rightists, is Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois.

The following two items were published in the *Columbia Free Press* magazine edited by students at the University of Missouri. The first, a letter to the editor by Frank C. Headbrink, an employee in the physical plant of the University, tells of threats by his foreman for discussing his participation in a "peace vigil." Although repeatedly challenged by other employees, he was instructed by the foreman not to explain his position or to express his convictions, if he plans to keep his job. In another edition, the editors discuss the School of Journalism and its daily newspaper, the *Columbia Missourian*. (Missouri U. is the only school that puts out a city circulation daily, not a school newspaper.) The CEP charges that "editorials are checked by the Dean so that none offend, especially advertisers or the University. News stories are omitted if they would cause controversy. Weddings and deaths of Negroes in Columbia are published only under unusual circumstances. To print a picture of a Negro choir boy at Christmas on the society page caused a three-week battle and almost ended in defeat."

Reporters were barred from attending a discussion held by the Democratic National Committee on "How to Communicate with the News Media."

The *Jefferson City Sunday News-Tribune* refused to accept an advertisement opposing a revenue bond issue on the grounds that the newspaper favors the bond issue.

"The political structure of St. Louis and other cities is heavily infiltrated by Communists," declared Thomas Younglove of St. Louis, former FBI agent, at the convention of the extremist American Conservative Party of Missouri earlier this year.

The Veterans of Foreign War asked New York Mayor John V. Lindsay to investigate 209 New Yorkers for un-American activities when they complained that the VFW had upset their sleep by the squealing of bag pipes, the thunder of drums, and the tramp of 17,000 marchers, during a parade which lasted past midnight. The VFW Commander-in-Chief said that every resident of Fifth Avenue should have been on the sidewalks cheering "instead of being upstairs in their beds." It was time, he said, that a new Paul Revere rode down Fifth Avenue. A vice admiral recalled Julia Ward Howe had been awakened by the tramp of federal troops down Pennsylvania avenue in the Civil War. She did not call city hall, he said, "she was inspired to write the lyrics to 'The Battle Hymn of the Republic.'"

A debt collection concern applied to the Federal Trade Commission to send out skip-tracing material under the named: Missing Heirs, Inc. They were turned down.

While the U. S. Army never objects to statements or letters to the editor by officers and enlisted men endorsing the official administration policy, it immediately intervenes if such public statements are critical of current U.S. policy. The American Civil Liberties Union points out, "it seems perfectly clear . . . that it is not public statements as such to which the Army objects, but only those statements which presume to criticize official policy."

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Letters

Paul Douglas For Senator

F/M: As a strong supporter of FOCUS/Midwest from its original edition up until the present date, I would like to express some sadness and disappointment regarding the article (Vol. 4, No. 11-12) relating to "Paul Douglas For Senator?"

The article was by Harry Barnard and was "Against." The article is full of name-calling, innuendoes, and worse. Labelling Paul Douglas as a McCarthyite is, itself, the height of McCarthyism.

As a former member of the staff of Senator Douglas in 1953 and 1954, the height of the McCarthyite period, I can tell you — first hand — that Senator Douglas fought strongly against everything that Senator McCarthy was for. He stood up in strong support of all the safeguards which were so necessary for persons testifying before Congressional committees and subcommittees. He took strong stands favoring full protection of persons in Government jobs who had been unjustly accused.

Labelling Senator Douglas as a McCarthyite is the extreme of recklessness, it occurs to me, not only on the part of Author Barnard, but on the part of FOCUS/Midwest for printing such an accusation.

Writing off Senator Douglas' voting "correctly on civil rights, Medicare, and similar domestic issues" as something which "nearly all politicians in Northern states" do, is as unenlightened as it is misleading. Senator Douglas has not just voted correctly, he has offered strong, fighting leadership on these important issues.

I remember in 1956, at a time when I was acting Chief Counsel on the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, that Senator Douglas was one of six senators in the entire Senate to back a civil rights bill which was the precursor of the important civil rights legislation which was passed in the following Congressional session. This small group of fighting senators included Senator Hennings, Chairman of the Constitutional Rights Subcommittee, Senator Lehman, and Senator Langer.

Final indiscretion committed by Author Barnard appears in the last paragraph of his article when he saw fit to quote from a private letter written by Senator Douglas to him as his friend during World War II. This was at a time when Senator Douglas was literally writing to his "friend" Barnard from a Marine base in the Pacific.

There is certainly two sides to every argument, and reasons to favor or disfavor the re-election of any senator — but I believe that Senator Douglas deserves better treatment than this.

Larry Carp

Clayton, Missouri

F/M: Senator Paul H. Douglas has helped to build a solid tower of liberal legislation. Paul Douglas focuses on the future. He has vital work to do. We who want a better world for all people everywhere should dedicate ourselves to his re-election this November.

Surely the people who have paid close attention to the public statements of Paul Douglas since 1932, as I have, will see that Irving Dilliard has very truthfully presented the Senator's record. By contrast Harry Barnard has offered distortions amounting to falsehoods. To link Paul Douglas with the behavior of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy and to suggest that Paul Douglas could be tolerant toward Hitlerism is insane. Finally, we cannot base our judgments on what some unnamed friends are supposed or alleged to have said privately on some undated occasion. Liberals prefer open facts, openly arrived at.

James H. Roche

Chairman, Social Studies Dept.
Elmwood Park (Ill.) Community
High School

Harry Barnard Replies:

I am not surprised by the reaction of some supporters of Paul Douglas to my piece, for it also pained me to face the facts. The September *Atlantic* flatly describes him as "more hawk-like than President Johnson," and: "As a senator in 1950 he advocated

a preventive war in the form of an atomic bomb dropped on China. . . . His constant theme has been the need to 'probe, needle, and press the Communists.' He said last year, 'the equation is simple: either they obliterate us, or we obliterate them.'

Obviously, I am not alone in viewing Douglas as a dedicated warhawk, the main point of my article.

I do not imply that Douglas was as bad as McCarthy. He was not, of course. But he certainly had high tolerance for McCarthy. David Lawrence, for example, sensed that in his November 18, 1954 column in the *Chicago Daily News* headed: "Lauds Douglas' Calm in McCarthy Matter." Douglas consistently refused to attack McCarthy although he did get up some suggested rules for improving the committee's operations. When asked in March 1954 about McCarthy's committee, Douglas' response was, "Unless we agree that there is an evil (communism) it is not proper for us to criticize the committee." (*Chicago Tribune*, March 15 and 16, 1954.) Such evasion by a "giant of a liberal," is so close to going along with McCarthyism as to make denial mere quibbling.

But I repeat: my main point was that Douglas, as a result of McCarthylike hysteria over communism, is a warhawk and should be repudiated on that score alone.

The Minutemen

F/M: I've just read the latest issue of FOCUS/Midwest and, as usual, it was enlightening and enjoyable. One short article caught my attention, and that is the one dealing with the Minutemen and the leak of information about this organization by "Mr. Jerry Milton Brooks." According to the article, which I assume is based upon Brook's own statement to Mr. Wilcox, Brooks had not broken with the Minutemen until December, 1965.

Early in 1963, I met with Jerry Brooks in East St. Louis where he lived at the time. He had some information, he said, about the Minutemen, the Counter-Insurgency Council, and other assorted extremists.

This turned out to be one of the queerest experiences of my life. Brooks would not let us meet with him in his house. Instead, we sat for three hours in my car, parked at the curb about a block away from his house. He began to talk and didn't stop for the entire time. He knew something about every name and

every organization of the fanatic fringes which existed at that time. Finally, he offered to sell us detailed information about the activities of escaped former SS and SD Nazis who, he claimed, were working and living in St. Clair and Madison Counties. (Obviously, these leads were checked out by the FBI and immigration authorities and found to be totally lacking in fact. As a matter of fact, the FBI had long been aware of Brooks and he apparently had offered to sell that organization information also over a period of years.)

I wouldn't believe anything he said because I firmly believe that he is one of these unfortunate characters that becomes associated on the fringes of various extremist organizations for the personal thrill of tenuous acceptance which he receives from such association. I think Mr. Wilcox was bamboozled.

Name Withheld
Springfield, Ill.

K. C. War On Poverty

F/M: I was quite amused by the caption under the photograph of Saul Alinsky on page 18 facing the article by Edgar Chasteen (Vol. 4 No. 11-12). The caption stated: "Saul Alinsky is the force behind the Back of the Yards Foundation headquartered in Chicago." Saul Alinsky was indeed the designer of the Back of the Yards, but it is not a foundation. On the contrary, it is a lily-white, rigidly segregated Chicago neighborhood. I think the writer of the caption meant to associate Alinsky with the Industrial Areas Foundation. This is his machinery and it is headquartered in Chicago.

Kyle Haselden
Editor
Christian Century

EDITOR'S NOTE: We blush.

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Our Fifth Volume

With this issue we begin Volume Five. We admit that our "numbering" may have kept our readers in some suspense. We have now adopted a new, simple system: aside from the volume, every issue will carry only one number reflecting the exact number of magazines published. The current issue, therefore, is Volume 5, Number 33.

The previous system of using two issue numbers per publication (which we used temporarily to synchronize our dating with our numbering — please don't ask us to explain it), may have created a wrong impression about the number of publications we sell per a \$6-subscription. A one-year \$6-subscription buys 11 publications, a two-year \$11-subscription buys 22, and a three-year \$15-subscription buys 33. These are the same rates which have been in effect since FOCUS/Midwest was founded in 1962.

The Annual Index for Volume Four appears on page 15. Readers interested in any one of the 32 back issues, can obtain them for 75c each except four special issues: *The Kennedy Memorial Issue*; the *Stevenson Memorial Issue*; and the *Roster of the Right Wing* which cost \$1 each; the *Voting Records* issue featuring all key bills and votes in the 1965 General Assemblies of Illinois and Missouri can only be obtained with the purchase of a subscription or by current subscribers.

New subscribers entering a one-year subscription can choose two of the special issues named above, a new two-year subscriber will receive all four free of charge. This offer also holds good for gift subscriptions. Keep it in mind for the holidays.

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Everything's Up To Date In Kansas City

ONCE more reform-ridden Kansas City has thrown out the rascals. The Jackson County primary victory of the two-year-old CCP (Committee for County Progress) allied with the four-year-old Freedom, Inc.; the County Highway Engineer's faction; and a few other, minor groups was the result of an all-out effort to dislodge an array of Democratic patronage factions from county offices. Under the blue-chip banner of Charles E. Curry, presiding judge of the Jackson County Court, an ad hoc, reformist alliance was built which swept eight of the nine county offices.

Just as upsetting to the established way of running things as the victory of the reformers, is the emergence of Freedom, Inc. as a major political influence. Freedom, Inc. calls itself the political arm of Kansas City's civil rights movement. The success of Freedom, Inc. in helping the CCP, has placed the inherent political power of the Kansas City Negro community on a more organized and effective footing than is prevalent either in St. Louis or Chicago.

A moral crusade has won the primary, but will it provide for the day to day demands of administering a county? Actually, the election has fragmented county power. The eight individuals elected are not responsible to CCP or anyone. They do have the opportunity to build a new patronage system. And who will be available to fill the jobs? Former employees, some new friends, and others which the defeated Democratic factions expect to provide. Since the county offices control between 100 and 600 jobs each, their importance is self-evident. The staffs of these offices have been traditionally bloated to build political strength. The *Kansas City Star* estimates that the 1,700 courthouse employees, for example, could be reduced to 1,000 without impairing any services.

The reformers ran on the promise of establishing a merit system as the first order of business. This is of overriding importance. Freedom, Inc. should fully back this move because Negroes, as the *Kansas City Call* points out, usually fare much better under a merit system. The history of hiring at the City Hall of Kansas City is a prime example.

But the merit system alone will not do it. The CCP, the umbrella organization, must provide a cohesive, well organized base. It cannot continue to depend on motivated volunteers. They will drift away. At least, the 1700-member Freedom, Inc. is organized on the ward level. But the CCP is an area-wide group without continuity in structure. In spite of the primary victory, it is structurally

and professionally weak. This the defeated factions know and wait and hope.

The Right Formula

ON the very day that Chicago Mayor Richard A. Daley announced plans for a resident professional theater if between five and ten million dollars can be found, a Kansas City effort to form a major repertory theater collapsed.

The differences in these two efforts not only tell much about such campaigns, but they also show up the artistic moods in both communities.

In Chicago, decision-makers in the industrial and professional society are involved: William Hartman, David M. Kennedy, Daggett Harvey, Leign Block, Fairfax Cone, Ben W. Heineman, William McFetridge, Marshall Sampsell, Gerald Sivage, Harris Ward, and Christopher Wilson among others.

It is not enough to say that they responded to the Mayor's winning smile. Their past commitments to other, similar causes bespeak a deeper conviction.

The only comparison which can be made to the Kansas City effort is that both drew upon former administrative directors of the Tyrone Guthrie Theater in Minneapolis. Chicago named Oliver Rea as consultant. Kansas City hired Barton H. Emmet as executive director.

There the similarity ends. The Kansas City Mayor's Professional Theater Planning Committee was composed of young people, some of the most active were in their thirties. This is an age of heir-apparents at the most. The formation of this Committee showed that the Mayor had failed in enlisting the support of meaningful leadership. Even a trip of 44 Kansas Citians to the Minneapolis Guthrie Theater, failed to gain their commitment. Committee chairman Irvin O. Hockaday, Jr. hoped in vain that a dramatic start, an active committee, and public enthusiasm would move some of the leaders to join in the \$3,500,000 drive.

Barton H. Emmet defines Kansas City leadership as a country club set, more interested in Saturday dances and golf, who if they really want to visit a good theatre, may fly to New York once a year. Compared to Minneapolis where nearly all the city's leadership participates fully in the cultural life of the city, or Chicago which is trying to match the cultural enthusiasm of her northern neighbor, Kansas City has flopped—temporarily, we hope.

The Battle For Parks

URBAN dwellers are faced with a series of dilemmas between competing land uses. And, as in all dilemmas, the scales of values of the protagonists are widely disparate.

For many decades there has been a running battle between those who felt that in any situa-

tion of choice, keeping traffic moving and building the "life lines" of our cities overrode all other considerations and those who felt that maintenance of parkland and "bringing a little bit of the country to the city" were similarly overriding considerations — and that they were mutually exclusive. An archetype of the former would probably be many of the state highway engineers and of the latter, professional park people, bird watchers, etc.

Until recently, most of the battles were won by the state highway engineers backed by the Bureau of Public Roads. They have had the money, the organization, and, as Senator Douglas points out, in George Leposky's article in this issue little political accountability, except fiscal.

Now, however, the balance of power is much more even. A real dialogue is in progress and many very satisfactory compromises have been worked out. The article "The Fighting Conservationist," points out two federal bills which are part of this dialogue. The recent very successful, enlightened, and important White House conference sponsored by Urban America, Inc. on "Our People and Their Cities" was a powerful "environmental" voice — and it wasn't crying in the wilderness either.

The trend of current events and postures indicate that we can look forward to much more balanced programs in the future. Both environment and transportation are receiving attention and at least some of the former antagonists are starting to talk the same language.

Politicians are highly sensitive to this situation. However, they tend to sway with the pressure, and organizations such as the Daniel Burnham Committee may have to stay in business for a long time to come.

National Study Well Received

READERS of this magazine are acquainted with the "National Essay Invitation on the Triple Revolution" sponsored by Teamster Local 688 (St. Louis) and FOCUS/Midwest. Participants in the study had to write for the text of the "Triple Revolution Report" and in their essays could evaluate the findings, analyze societal values in terms of the report, or recommend public measures to overcome the disorders forecast in the report.

The most significant contributions will be published in FOCUS/Midwest with a first place award of \$1,000, a second place of \$500, and \$100 awarded to any other paper accepted for publication.

More than 1,240 requests for the "Triple Revolution Report" were received from every state except Nevada. At least a fifth, possibly as many as one third, came from faculty mem-

bers. Represented among the registrations were students, graduate students, and faculty from 318 colleges and universities.

The heaviest number of registrations came from California: 123. Next was New York with 109, Illinois with 76, and Missouri with 73. Of the 1240 registrations, 782 were affiliated with colleges and universities. Among people not affiliated with universities, the heaviest representation came from editors and writers, teachers, and executives in the communications industry.

We share the sentiments of Harold J. Gibbons, secretary-treasurer of Local 688, who commented, "the unusual response from American universities, the centers of thought in our society, show a healthy ferment on our campuses. The challenges of cybernation, modern weapon systems, and human rights revolutions will be critically analyzed and, we hope, new directions offered."

Our readers will be among the first to share the findings of this national study.

Black Power

THE use or misuse of the "Black Power" slogan doesn't perturb us very much. Depending on the interpreter's intent, he can read into it pure racism or merely an endorsement of self-understood Negro rights. As a rule, the interpretations tell more about the interpreter than the slogan.

Stokely Carmichael's cavalier dismissal of white involvement, however, must be challenged. Whether he agrees or not, whites are and will remain an inseparable part of the movement, because it is as much theirs as his. They, too, will overcome.

It is noteworthy, particularly since it was ignored by the daily press, that the CORE chapters in St. Louis and Kansas City added their own comments before locally endorsing resolutions on black power and non-violence approved at CORE's national convention. The St. Louis group substituted "integration" for "black power" in the resolution which read: Racial coexistence through Black Power is the only meaningful way to true equality. The Kansas City group adopted a locally sponsored resolution reiterating its position "to be one of strong advocacy toward non-violence. Non-violence meaning both non-aggression and non-'so-called self-defense' during direct social action."

Among the documents which shed some meaning on the black power issue, is an incisive statement by the National Committee of Negro Churchmen. The complete report can be obtained by writing to the Committee, c/o Commission on Religion and Race, National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027.



Will The Real Lincoln

IN a review of Negro colleges, *Ebony* magazine blithely states that "some of the predominantly Negro colleges will die in the shuffle, others will be merged with stronger institutions, and a prestigious few will maintain their own existence." The question facing Negro colleges will rarely be one of death, merger, or simple continuation. The question will be how the values of its past can be retained and improved upon in the new setting created by the 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing the separate but equal doctrine.

The future of these Negro schools is largely unresolved. Politicians and educators will have to plan within a context of past ostracism and neglect, a usually conservative administrative body, a usually white community surrounding the school, a racially changing student body, and perhaps most influential, Negro pride and hopes.

The potential for Lincoln University at Jefferson City, the capital of Missouri, is inspiring. Unfortunately, the understandable timidity of the past has kept progress to a few, ginger steps. Although Lincoln is one of only three former Negro colleges which has a sizable white student body, and while numerous challenges have arisen, the school continues along its traditional, inadequate ways.

The Board of Curators

Lincoln University always had a conservative Board of Curators. Recent appointments have moved the dividing line, but crucial issues are still decided in line with past practices, although now by a vote of five to four.

The established policy is represented by five members, the majority: H. Byron Masterson, president, principal in Kennett, (Mo.); Mrs. Olive Decatur, vice president, of Springfield; George A. Rozier, treasurer, attorney and former state senator from Jefferson City; Dr. R. B.

Doolin, superintendent of Kansas City schools; and George E. Roberts, 85-year-old resident of Hannibal, who has attended only six sessions, the election meetings, during the last six years.

The reform faction is represented by Earl Wilson of Richmond Heights, salesman with I.B.M.; James Randall of St. Louis, personnel director of McDonnell Aircraft; Carl Sapp of Columbia; and Dr. Carl Peterson of Kansas City.

Although Masterson has been on the Board for 16 years, 12 as president, it is common knowledge that public service is of no interest to him. His appointment typifies the neglect of past governors to appoint qualified persons.

As president, Masterson is also a member of the three-man executive committee which includes the vice president and the treasurer. By statutes this committee should meet monthly. It hasn't met in twelve years. Similarly, board members must attend every meeting, otherwise their office is to be declared vacant. Curator Roberts' unexcused absences over the past six years, except for the annual elections when he attends and supports the incumbents, typifies the Board's lack of concern for Lincoln University.

A conclusive touch of irony is provided by the curators' vote to "honor" Masterson with an honorary degree several years ago. Not only is it unheard in the annals of higher education that a university board in effect honors itself, but it is also a violation of a Missouri statute which declares that the curators should accrue no personal benefits from their position.

No Long-Range Planning

More important than the bestowal of uncalled-for honorary degrees is the utter lack of any long-range program for the University. Neither the Board nor the administration has

University Please Stand Up?

ever projected future needs or expectations.

Lincoln University alone among all Missouri public colleges and universities has no planning body. Whatever projections are publicized come from the office of the Missouri Commission on Higher Education, which has to work with 19 public and 35 private institutions. Since this Commission includes Earl E. Dawson, president of Lincoln University, and in view of his extensive educational background, a master plan for Lincoln University should have been among the President's foremost tasks. Today, this lack exposes the University to many pressures, not necessarily in the interest of the student body.

Planning is always piecemeal. A number of reviews and changes are now considered by the Board not as a matter of need, but because a delegation from the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools is expected early in 1967. Continued accreditation of the University is at stake. The more basic deficiencies, however, go unchecked.

During the last 25 years, for example, the school has built only three dormitories. Since dormitories can be

wholly financed by federal funds, this neglect cannot be explained. Before the days of integration, fewer dormitories meant by definition a smaller student body. Only very few Negroes found accommodations in Jefferson City. Today, it means that the Negro student body is kept in check wilfully. At present there are dormitory facilities for nearly 800 students and a student body of less than 1,800.

The White Influx

Since 1954, Lincoln University has admitted white students. Today, the racial composition is nearly in balance although no public figures are available. While Negroes live primarily on the campus, white students commute. While the classes are integrated, social life is largely segregated. The normal division of interest between on-campus and off-campus students take on racial overtones as a result. Opportunities to mingle on campus are few and Jefferson City is a closed town for Negroes.

The growth of the white student body, the increase in white faculty and other employees, the difficulty in finding qualified Negro faculty

when Negroes with degrees have become the hottest commodity in business and schools, the lack of preparation of the student body to the ongoing changes, have contributed to the fear that the whites will take over, not only in number of students but also in the administration.

This fear is coupled with Negro cynicism that the white students just want to take advantage of an inexpensive, nearby college but do not want to carry a fair share of campus life or responsibility. Implied in these Negro attitudes is a strong identification with Lincoln University. In an era when the term alienation has become synonymous with the disadvantaged and when huge programs are conceived in order to "involve" the Negro, it would be paradoxical to sacrifice such involvement where it does exist.

White students, on the other hand, do not feel necessarily welcome. The silence among the students is not only the curators' and administration's fault, but is the students' handicap in a world of opening doors. Yet, it is not enough to say, as President Dawson did, that integration is proceeding smoothly. Silence can be deadly.

Just as there is no dialogue between white and Negro students, so there is none between Lincoln University and the surrounding white community. Lincoln University is silent, too. None of the civil rights organizations are accredited on the campus, although the Jefferson City chapters are made up largely of University personnel.

There are many opportunities for Lincoln University to provide leadership. When the Jefferson City Residential Standards Committee held hearings, Walter Hamilton, secretary of the University Board, and Peter C. Robertson, executive director of the Missouri Commission on Human Rights, were among the witnesses.

Robertson charged boldly that "as far as housing opportunities are con-

THE HISTORY OF LINCOLN UNIVERSITY

According to "A History of Lincoln University" by Dr. W. Sherman Savage and Missouri's official "Blue Book," it was two white officers who interested Negro soldiers in helping start, what is now known as, Lincoln University. Lt. Richard Baxter Foster and Lt. Aaron M. Adamson enlisted the support of their black soldiers, collected the funds, traveled to St. Louis and enlisted a committee of St. Louisans. They had collected \$5,000 from members of the 62nd United States Colored Infantry, Missouri volunteers stationed in Texas, and \$1,324.50 from the 65th Colored Infantry stationed in Louisiana.

The college was first housed in a two-room building, put up by the Jefferson City board of education. It was closed down when the Missouri Legislature passed a law in 1847 forbidding the teaching of Negro children. It stood idle for the next 19 years, when it was taken over for the Lincoln Institute which was incorporated in June 25, 1866. Deeded to Missouri as a state school in 1879, it became a land grant college under the 2nd Merrill Act of 1890. The institute became Lincoln University in 1921 under an act sponsored by Walthall M. Moore of St. Louis, the first Negro to serve in the Missouri Legislature.

Earl E.
Dawson



The New Student
Union Building

cerned, Jefferson City is a city of white Missourians," and revealed that real estate men have privately told him that the town was "off bounds" for Negro home purchasers.

Hamilton only testified that the University had had some difficulty in recruiting faculty members because of the lack of housing in Jefferson City. Hamilton's statement was so weak that it is now used by Jefferson Citians rebutting charges of discrimination.

The Future of Lincoln U.

By law Lincoln University is the equal of the University of Missouri. The equality ends there. In fact, Lincoln hasn't even reached the level of any one of the five state colleges. Alone among all Missouri Colleges, Lincoln University has not grown. In 1961 it had an enrollment of about 1,800; it then slipped to 1,400; and now has recouped its loss. Alone among all Missouri colleges, it has not attracted any sizable number of white students to its dormitories. Alone among Missouri colleges, it is unwilling to take any risks in the building of dormitories. And, as has been pointed out, alone among Missouri colleges it has no plans nor personnel contemplating future opportunities.

Among the nine public two-year colleges, the five state colleges, and the five campuses of the University of Missouri, Lincoln must find its place. No one seriously discusses dissolution or merger. Just as unlikely are the chances that the Missouri legislature would add a range of graduate schools when these are available at Columbia. Missouri is not big enough to require two institutions of the size of the University of Missouri complex.

The future of Lincoln University must include in its consideration three determining factors: its special role as a former Negro school in terms of American Negro history; its obligations to the ill-prepared high school student, white or Negro; and its function as a regional institution.

Lincoln University is a proud symbol of Negro contributions to America. In a white world which has hidden Negro achievements, Lincoln University is a visible sign against which the Negro can orient himself. It is there for all to see, physically, boldly, and graduating qualified students year by year. Without Lincoln University the level of Negro education in Missouri would have been dismal indeed. Integration has only partially relieved Lincoln University of this historic role. Until the day when it becomes possible that dominantly white universities will have integrated boards and Negro deans without causing undue comment, Lincoln University has obligations dating back to the founding of the school.

Lincoln University must remain one school where the Negro feels fully at home.

Secondly, *while maintaining educational standards of excellence*, the University must assume responsibility for helping white and Negro students coming from high schools with low academic standards. A few attempts to establish such remedial programs have failed because of the lack of administration support and the slowness and conservatism of the War on Poverty officials.

A recent study of Chicago High School students attending the University of Illinois indicate that top students from all-Negro public high schools are not as well prepared for college work as average students from other schools. As Gilbert Osofsky, history professor and chairman of the University's committee on disadvantaged students, told a reporter, "no one has bothered to tackle this travesty but we all know what goes on in ghetto schools."

Unfortunately, no comparative studies have been conducted in Missouri. If anything, conditions may be worse in Missouri because it is 49th among the states in the percentage of income spent on education.

Thirdly, the surrounding commun-

ity must be involved in the growth of the University. Offers of support, such as that from the Jefferson City Junior Chamber of Commerce, should be welcomed. But involvement is a two-way street. The University will have to take an active interest in the capital of Missouri, its residents, and make its influence felt. The days have passed when it was politically wise to be as inconspicuous as possible in a state dominated by rural interests and segregationists.

Dramatic changes can be expected in the years ahead. Even under the last General Assembly, before it was reapportioned, operating appropriations for Lincoln University were \$200 higher per student than that of any other state college or university. Forces are active to rectify the neglect of many decades. Ben Morton, executive secretary of the Missouri Commission on Higher Education, expects that \$6,000,000 will be required over the next ten years to prepare the school for a student body of 4,000 and a dormitory population of 2,000.

Within Missouri's schools of higher education, Lincoln University must occupy its appropriate, yet unique place.

Lincoln University should not be asked to sacrifice its past, deny its current responsibilities, nor its obligation to help students who come poorly prepared. With good will it can be loyal to its traditions, loyal to the surrounding community, and loyal to the educational tasks ahead.

Charles Young is president of the St. Louis chapter of the Lincoln University Alumni Association and teaches in St. Louis public schools. He graduated from Lincoln in 1957, majoring in education. He has received his M.A. in education from the University of Illinois and is now working for his Ph.D.

"Air Pollution is a contributing factor to the rising incidence of chronic respiratory diseases — lung cancer, emphysema, bronchitis, and asthma. There is evidence to suggest that certain types of air pollution may even contribute to the common cold. We know that pollutants in higher than ordinary concentration have killed and crippled. . . ."

JOHN C. GARDNER
Secretary of Health,
Education and Welfare

AIR POLLUTION

Everybody Talks About It But . . .

ILLINOIS and Missouri residents of the St. Louis metropolitan area will shortly witness a battle royal on the adoption of legislative controls curbing air pollution. For years cities and counties sat back waiting for the completion of the \$750,000 "Interstate Air Pollution Study" started in 1963. But when the "Air Resource Management Program," the official title of the study, recommended a model ordinance acceptable to air pollution experts, it found no legislative echo. In an election year with financial support from industrial sources at stake, no serious legislative move can be expected.

Alderman Peter Simpson of St. Louis introduced a measure, but it did not even carry the endorsement of the St. Louis Mayor and may have represented no more than his declaration of independence from the Mayor. Significantly, it was endorsed by the Mayor's political foe, aldermanic president Donald Gunn.

Key political figures did not introduce control measures in their domains, but came up with statements favoring the study of such measures by an area-wide body first. Among these were St. Louis County Supervisor Lawrence Roos (Rep.) and St. Louis Mayor Alfonso J. Cervantes (Dem.). On the other hand, Nathan B. Kaufman, Democratic candidate for County Supervisor, favors immediate enactment of controls by the various political subdivisions without waiting for recommendations of area-wide, uniform controls.

The latest development in doing nothing is the shifting of the burden for legislative action to the East-West Gateway Co-ordinating Council, the new body representing three counties in Missouri, three in Illinois,

and the City of St. Louis. Essentially, no one can object to the Council accepting responsibility. Its 17 members represent all governmental bodies in the two-state area. It is in a favorable position to study the proposed ordinance, propose uniform controls, and assist in promoting their adoption. However, the likelihood of such action is less favorable.

While the transfer of responsibility from the several governments to the Gateway Council — supposedly initiated by the chairman, St. Louis County Supervisor Lawrence Roos — was widely acclaimed, its political opportunism was as widely overlooked. The Mayors and Supervisors can now await the elections peacefully, only interrupted by a hearty campaign speech here and there, without having to face the pollution issue at all.

Worse yet, informed sources even claim that the Council might be swayed to scuttle the proposed air pollution ordinance by substituting meaningless standards. Industry is expected to present testimony that the recommended standards would "condemn" the St. Louis area to a light industrial region and cause an economic decline.

William F. Hoelscher, general manager and secretary of the association of major heavy manufacturers of Granite City, Madison, and Venice, all in Illinois, opposes the standards recommended by the Interstate Air Pollution Study as "idealistic" and disastrous to the area's whole economy. More truthful was another statement which opposed additional expense for pollution control because it would reduce industry's earnings and dividends. But this is not necessarily accurate. The area suffers an estimated damage of \$130 million

per year, or about \$65 per person. Aside from stopping the irreparable damage to health, the expense of industry control measures may more than be paid for by the indirect returns of clean air, such as location of new industry and new residents.

The Gateway Council has scheduled three hearings in September and October after which they are expected to decide on the standards. Forceful opposition will be presented by the Industrial Waste Council, recently renamed the Industrial Waste Control Council. Industries on both sides of the river belong to this group. They have already retained the consulting services of an air pollution engineer, Dr. L. Faith of Los Angeles.

Without technical assistance, it will be most difficult, if not impossible, for the Gateway Council to make intelligent choices. While a motion by Mayor Cervantes to appoint a special advisory sub-committee was approved, none of the proposed members have been invited officially as of mid-September. The sub-committee was to include Dr. Jack Bregman, chairman of the Illinois Air Pollution Control Board; Charles Copley, head of the St. Louis Division of Air Pollution Control; Lewis C. Green, chairman of the Missouri Air Conservation Commission; a staff engineer from the Illinois Air Pollution Control Board; and a federal public health service official familiar with the three-year pollution study.

Even with backing by the Gateway Council, the smaller cities and counties will have an uneven battle with industry. In many localities, the larger corporations dominate the political fortunes of its officials and much of community life as well. Since all Gateway Council members have one vote each, the prognosis for the adoption of effective air pollution controls is, to be optimistic, not too promising.

One official, Lewis C. Green, chairman of the Missouri Air Conservation Commission, expressed hope (concern?) that the East-West Gateway Coordinating Council would lead to immediate adoption of uniform air pollution control measures. Even if the Council were to produce a meaningful measure, it would still have to be adopted by all the local political units. Ultimately, as Green also recommended, the only effective solution may be the enforcement of uniform controls by an interstate agency.

THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE

IN the last two and a half years, one of the most important news stories in Chicago has been the protests over School Superintendent Benjamin C. Willis and his policies, mainly the existence of de facto school segregation. All four Chicago dailies gave the story primary treatment but there was a difference in the way it was handled by one paper, the *Chicago Tribune*.

Although Willis will resign shortly and a successor has been appointed, this story deserves telling to demolish the one redeeming factor which even opponents of the *Tribune* hasten to proclaim: the *Chicago Tribune* reports all the news. *It does not.*

The *Tribune*, an uncritical supporter of Willis, seldom printed news which put the superintendent in an

same month a school transfer plan was curtailed. Willis took this action without informing the Board of Education and blocked transfer orders for 24 student. In October, the Ford Foundation withheld \$147,000 of a \$350,000 grant to the Board of Education because of the inadequacy of expenditure reports prepared by Willis.

In December 1964, Willis proposed



cutbacks in after-school, summer and foreign language classes and was promptly criticized at a budget hearing. In February 1965, the chairman of the Advisory Committee on Child Psychiatric Services attacked Willis for a scarcity of school mental health resources.

None of these incidents were connected with the battle over Willis. But they do not give a favorable picture of him and the Tribune chose not to cover them.

Anti-Willis News Suppressed

In the last three years, a wide variety of groups and individuals have called for Willis' resignation or have made strong criticisms of him.

These news items, too, 23 of which are cited below, were suppressed by the *Tribune*.

The Chicago Chapter of the Presbyterian Interracial Council demanded that Willis quit or be fired (August 1963). The Catholic Interracial Conference of Chicago asked the board to accept Willis' resignation which it had rejected. The vice president of the Citizens School Com-

mittee accused Willis and the board of abandoning leadership. Two groups of churchmen endorsed a school boycott. (All in October 1963). The Independent Voters of Illinois called for "reconstitution" of the board and the resignation of Willis (November 1963). The Chicago Conference on Religion and Race urged the board to adopt a policy of integration (December 1963).

A group composed of 138 civic, business, and religious leaders criticized the board for failing to implement an integration plan (August 1964).

The Chicago Presbytery's Commission on Public Education urged the board to find a successor to Willis. A group opposing Willis, headed by an Inland Steel executive, was started (both in January 1965). A group of clergymen serving a white neighborhood urged that Willis not be rehired at the end of his term in August (March 1965). A community organization criticized a proposal of Willis' (April 1965). The Chicago Missionary Society called for the replacement of Willis (May 1965).

R. Sargent Shriver, in Chicago, said there was "a large amount of de facto segregation" in the city and it should be eliminated. The Presbytery of Chicago said a new superintendent should be "quickly selected" because of racial injustices. A suit was filed challenging the legality of



a new contract given Willis. John Hope Franklin, at a press conference, defended school boycotts (All in June 1965).



unfavorable light. The paper ignored almost all objections to Willis as school superintendent unless such objection came from the more militant civil rights groups.

This policy not only helped create a false view of the criticism of Willis by giving the impression that only "civil rights agitators" objected to him as superintendent but it also isolated the activities of civil rights groups. It made them appear as if they were way out, without support and irresponsible.

This fit in with the *Tribune's* view of civil rights groups.

Readers of the *Tribune* were kept ignorant of many significant happenings, such as the following.

In September 1963, Willis made plans to build a school for 1500 pupils after telling the city planning commissioner the school was to be built for 800 pupils. The commissioner demanded an explanation. Later the

BUNE AND TRUTH

Forty-seven Methodist ministers urged Willis' contract be terminated (July 1965). Officials of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare prepared for an investigation into discrimination charges and met with Willis, the board president, the leader of the civil rights protest, and the executive director of the Church Federation of Greater Chicago (August 1965).

The executive board of the Chicago Conference on Religion and Race submitted a plan to alleviate racial problems which included finding a successor to Willis (September 1965). The Citizens School Committee urged the board to implement a board-sponsored survey which emphasized school integration (October 1965). Two University of Chicago



sociologists, in a report prepared for the Russell Sage Foundation, advocated citywide open enrollment (November 1965). A civil rights group submitted to the board a petition, based on Willis' statistics, charging school boundary gerrymandering (December 1965).

Not one of these important developments was covered by the Chicago Tribune.

Also in 1963 a *Tribune* reporter wrote a series on school buildings. The articles turned out to be unfavorable and the *Tribune* never ran them.

School Board Members Slighted

The *Tribune* did not give any better coverage to actions by board members favoring integration or which were critical of Willis. For example, *Tribune* editors ignored these eleven important developments.

In August 1963, a board member proposed a school transfer plan which would make slum school classes smaller than classes in wealthy neighborhoods. Later that month a board attorney said that a plan to create racial balances in public schools could be worked out in six months. In September 1963 the board voted 9-0 ordering Willis to reverse a cut-back he had made in a school transfer plan without consulting the board.

In October 1964, a committee of the board asserted that the board should preserve and stabilize integrated schools.

In June 1965, the board appointed a committee to seek a new school superintendent. Three days later the committee announced it would select a candidate by the end of the year.

In October 1965, 28 teachers at one school distributed an open letter listing 16 grievances against conditions in the school system; the board refused to approve new plans of Willis' for spending \$6 million in federal school aid; state officials said that \$30 million in federal school aid was being held up because Chicago school authorities had not submitted a final proposal; and late that month the state superintendent of public instruction said he would not release \$24 million in federal funds until Willis provided more information on plans for spending the money.

In November a board member charged that two experimental school programs had died because of a "pocket veto" by Willis.

The *Tribune* did not cover any of these developments.

Coverage by Distortion

When the *Tribune* did cover stories which included criticism, the criticism was usually buried toward the end of the story or the entire story was buried toward the back of the paper.

For example: When CORE met with the board in July 1963, the group's complaints weren't mentioned till after the story was jumped to an inside page. When the *Tribune* in March 1964 covered a meeting of

the National Council of Jewish Women, criticism made of Chicago schools was not quoted till the end of the story, after the board president was quoted as praising his own board.

In August 1964, Prof. Philip M. Hauser, who prepared a report for the board, denounced the board at the annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers. The *Tribune* quoted Hauser at the end of its story and followed it with a criticism of Hauser equally as long.



In June 1965, Prof. Robert J. Havighurst attacked the school system before the University of Chicago Committee on Human Development. The *Tribune* emphasized another aspect of his talk, his criticism of "mass culture," and saved his school criticism for the end of the story.

When that same month 39 Negro business and professional leaders came out in support of demonstrations protesting the retention of Willis as superintendent, the *Tribune* gave the story only half as much copy as the *Sun-Times* or *Daily News* and buried it on the TV-radio page. Similarly, news of a suit filed by parents in June against the board for maintaining segregation was buried in the sports section just before the beginning of the want ads.

On numerous occasions the *Tribune* not only ignored stories but carried other stories opposite in content.

For example, July 6, 1963, the *Sun-Times*, the other morning paper, carried a story of an attack on Willis and the Chicago school system by a New York educator at the NAACP

national convention. That same morning the *Tribune* carried instead an attack on the NAACP by James Meredith and news of an apology by two NAACP officials to Mayor Richard Daley for the way he was treated by part of the audience at an NAACP rally.

When in January 1965 the PTA's from elementary schools in the city's Hyde Park area called for the ouster of Willis, the *Tribune* ignored the event. But a week later it carried a story on a letter written by a Hyde Park PTA member who was opposed to the decision. And in March the *Tribune* carried a story of a local PTA withdrawing from the Chicago region PTA because of its criticism of Willis.

On September 22, the *Sun-Times* carried a story which quoted a Chicago Youth Welfare Commission member and director of special services in the commission's law and order program. He praised civil rights marches, saying they "helped dissipate a lot of emotion" and said "that he believes there is a correlation between a decrease in gang activity and demonstrations."

The *Tribune* didn't carry the story. But it did carry coverage of a speech by Chicago insurance executive James S. Kemper who said Dr. King, President Johnson, and others were, in the *Tribune's* words, "responsible for the development of mass crime in the civil rights movement."

On October 5, the *Daily News* quoted the dean of Harvard University Graduate School of Education as saying at an education writers seminar that federal aid should be used for integration. The *Tribune* stayed away from the subject till October 7 when it quoted the president of Rockford College as saying at a luncheon that federal funds should not be used to "accomplish social objectives."

Pro-Willis Get Ample Coverage

Meanwhile, the *Tribune* carried numerous stories of praise for Willis, no matter of how little importance they may have been.

Thus in August 1963 it carried a story on a letter written by a Negro minister which criticized the picketing of the home of the president of the Board of Education. And in January 1965 it carried the pro-Willis results of a poll taken by a community organization in one of the city's most prejudiced neighborhoods.

But in May 1965 it did not carry the activity of some Willis supporters when it was announced that the board was giving Willis a new contract.

The *Tribune* did not mention reports that board members critical of Willis had received bomb and phone threats and that one board member had been called a "nigger lover" and his home had been plastered with Willis stickers by a group of callers, some of whom were drunk.

Going back to October 1963, when Willis resigned, the *Tribune* gave major play to persons and groups who praised Willis and demanded that he continue as superintendent.

Willis has been a firm supporter of the "neighborhood school system," as has the *Tribune*. When the U.S. Supreme Court in May 1964 declined to review a lower court decision on Gary, Indiana, schools the *Tribune* expounded on the action, saying that the Supreme Court had "upheld" neighborhood schools.

A year earlier, in July 1963, the *Tribune* had carried a two-part series on neighborhood schools. The first part which was supposedly continued started off with a defense and then painted a grim picture of what would happen if neighborhood schools were abolished. Segregation was the only factor discussed. The second part gave a picture of overwhelming and growing support for neighborhood schools.

If the *Tribune* has played up most of the support for Willis and ignored most of the criticism of him, except that which comes from civil rights groups, it has also been unfair to the civil rights groups. The paper has played up mass demonstrations but given little coverage, if any, to the specifics of their demands and to the details of their charges.

Slant on Civil Rights Action

When Mayor Daley charged that Communists were involved in civil rights demonstrations, the *Tribune* played this up.

Criticism of Daley's charges came from many places immediately. The *Tribune* mentioned some of the criticism that came from civil rights and two socialist groups. But criticism of Daley also came from the executive directors of the Catholic Interracial Council, Church Federation of Greater Chicago, and National Council of Churches Commission on Religion and

Race. Criticism also came from 17 north suburban organizations in the form of an open letter.

The *Tribune* ignored these protests.

In a steady stream of editorials, sometimes numbering several a week, civil rights demonstrators were variously described as: "exhibitionists," "left-wing extremists," "nuisance marchers," "self-appointed leaders," "a little group of malcontents," "professional agitators," "publicity seekers," "emotional adolescents," "noisy minority of 'civil rights' fault finders," "discredited would-be rabble-rousers," "holier-than-thou trouble-makers," and "self-elected critics" who have been "preaching inflammatory nonsense," who "piously invoke religious sentiments," "represent nobody but themselves," "goad the police into roughness which can be called 'brutality'," "threaten a reign of terror" and are "bellyaching as usual," and whose demonstrations have "tended to verge on civil insurrection."

And the paper certainly endeared itself to the "white backlash" when in one editorial it wrote, "Much is said about the wrongs suffered by Negroes, but nothing about their duty to behave themselves." And when in another editorial the paper stated, "If there has been any serious racial discrimination in Chicago, it has been against white pupils."

The *Tribune* even opposed the establishment by Willis and the board of the position of assistant superintendent in charge of integration of schools. They objected because they felt such an action confirmed complaints "that segregation exists in the public school system" and thus the board was "providing aid and comfort" to civil rights leaders.

For three years then the *Chicago Tribune* has been giving its readers a distorted picture of the protests over Willis and the Chicago school system. It has ignored the extent and size of the opposition and chosen instead to make it appear falsely, that only a few civil rights groups form the opposition, a "noisy minority" without support.

Jay Allen is a pen name for a Chicago journalist whose writings have appeared in the *New Republic*, *Commonweal*, *Nation*, and many other magazines.

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The Fighting Conservationists

GEORGE LEPOSKY

PARKS are for people. Not for expressways, parking lots, missile and radar sites, airports, convention halls and office buildings, but for people.

Throughout the United States the cities are learning this lesson the hard way. Repeated usurpations of park lands for non-park use have brought politicians and administrators into conflict with people who are for parks. Chicago typifies this conflict, as conservationists war with Mayor Richard J. Daley and the Commissioners of the Chicago Park District over the attrition of Chicago's green space.

The major battleground in Chicago has been the shore of Lake Michigan, where nearly 1,000 trees fell victim to the city's plans for widening and straightening South Lake Shore Drive through Jackson and Burnham Parks. Residents of communities bordering these parks joined a multitude of civic groups to protest plans for the roadway, but the Chicago Plan Commission approved the project on April Fool's Day, 1965, after only two minutes and 42 seconds of deliberation.

When destruction began on Sept. 9, 1965, about fifty conservationists, members of the militant Daniel Burnham Committee, clashed with workmen and their power saws. The Burnhamites clung to trees as the tree-cutters reached over their heads to drive the saws into the trunks. In their haste to complete the job, the workmen felled trees on demonstrators, the nearby Lake Shore Drive, and themselves. Within two hours only stumps and fallen branches remained of what had once been a tree-lined scenic drive.

The direct confrontation between citizens and the men who had come to despoil their park made Chicago look bad. National press, radio, and television coverage aired the city's dirty linen much more effectively than had the strips of sheeting tied as mourning bands earlier in the summer around trees marked for cutting.

Last fall's Jackson Park crisis occasioned a massive citizen protest in Chicago against the taking of park land for non-park use. The protest occurred largely because the city tried to bite off more than its citizens could digest at one time. As *Chicago's American* columnist Jack Mabley noted, there has been "a gradual chipping away at the parks — an acre here, a tree there, a ribbon of land, a little at a time."



IT is true that until World War II the attrition of the parks was more than offset by their expansion along the lines suggested by the Burnham Committee's namesake, city planner Daniel H. Burnham. In 1909 Burnham recognized that in a city without mountains or hills to vary the terrain and break the monotony of the prairie, Lake Michigan provides Chicago's one natural scenic contrast. "First in importance is the shore of Lake Michigan, which should be treated as park space to the greatest possible extent," he wrote. "The lake front by right belongs to the people . . . Everything possible should be done to enhance its attractiveness and to develop its natural beauties, thus fitting it for the part it has to play in the life of the whole city. It should be made so alluring that it will become the fixed habit of the people to seek its restful presence at every opportunity."

To accomplish this goal, Burnham envisioned a jade necklace of parks the length of Chicago's lakefront, and proposed construction of a series of islands and peninsulas to provide more shore frontage for beaches, sheltered harbors for pleasure craft, and additional green space for rest and recreation. Only one of these islands was ever constructed. It is now occupied by an airport.

In 1919, the city council passed the Lake Front Ordinance which created Burnham Park out of reclaimed land east of the Illinois Central Railroad tracks between 12th Street and 51st Street. With Lincoln Park to the north, Grant Park at the doorstep of the Loop, and Jackson Park (site of the 1893 Columbian Exposition) as the southern anchor, the development of Burnham Park gave Chicago almost 15 miles of continuous greenery along the lakefront, excepting only the port and rail terminals near the mouth of the Chicago River, a gap of less than a mile in the lakefront greenery.

Lake Shore Drive, built in sections and finally completed in 1941, transformed at least 175 acres of the necklace into concrete, but with its curves and vistas it provided tourists and residents alike with the esthetic experiences of a leisurely scenic drive.

After World War II, mass transit declined in popularity at the very time the exodus to the suburbs reached its height. City planners strove to provide for the flood of automobiles unleashed on Chicago's

streets. Lake Shore Drive became a major traffic artery, a purpose for which it was never intended. Unable to find ways to lure riders back to mass transit or revising traffic patterns to divert through travelers from the lake shore, the city fathers chose to "improve" the Drive.

THIS choice has created a conflict between Federal road programs, which provide half the money being spent to "upgrade" Lake Shore Drive, and President Johnson's urban beautification program.

Interior Secretary Stewart L. Udall has admitted that many such conflicts have arisen. "I don't think highways need necessarily be destructive," he said, and promised to "formulate new guidelines" to prevent destruction of urban beauty spots by future highway developments.

"I hope these things won't happen in the future," he said. "I don't think we can reverse some of them now."

Illinois' Democratic Senator Paul Douglas and Congressman Barratt O'Hara, through whose district the Jackson Park "improvement" is being built, have failed in their efforts to unsnarl the tangle. Douglas explains why:

"I have found the highway experts who lay out these roads to be brutally unconcerned about other values than the mere movement of traffic. They have so built up their powers and have been aided and furthered by those who believe in the administrative state that politicians have little or no control over them. A United States Senator has absolutely no voice or influence in these matters. . . .

"Then, when something goes wrong, the public — unable to find or identify the faceless and virtually anonymous administrators — in frustration takes it out on the elected officials who have no such power and whom the voters have permitted to be stripped of any such power because they are 'politicians'."

Notwithstanding Senator Douglas' evident frustration, politicians are on both sides of the parks controversy. In Chicago it was Mayor Daley who championed the rebuilding of Lake Shore Drive. The Mayor also guided McCormick Place, Chicago's five-year-old convention hall, to completion through a tangle of legal protests against the use of the 30 acres of park land (including 12½ acres of parking) required to build the struc-

ture in Burnham Park.

Now the Stevenson Expressway, Interstate 55, is being extended to meet Lake Shore Drive in front of McCormick Place, in an effort to relieve traffic congestion at the convention hall. Congestion may be increased when that project is completed, and in any case, a tri-level interchange is a far cry from what Daniel Burnham had in mind for the lakefront park which bears his name.

Mayor Daley was not in office when Meigs Field was built in 1946 on 92-acre Northerly Island, the only island built at the behest of Burnham's plan, but the Mayor can be blamed for allowing the airport to remain. He says it's good for Chicago's convention trade because it draws businessmen to the city, but the leaders of commerce and industry who use the field do not pay for its services. The taxpayers subsidize the field to the tune of about \$1,000 a day. Though Meigs Field has no hangar nor the equipment necessary for major repairs to aircraft, landing and parking fees there are higher than at private airports on the periphery of the city.

Add to Meigs Field and McCormick Place the parking lots around Soldier Field Stadium and the Park District's administration building at 14th Street, and Burnham Park is over 30 per cent paved!

In Grant Park the major abuse is the Monroe Street Parking lot which holds 2,100 cars and brings the Park District a hefty \$1 million a year in parking revenues. While the money comes in handy, one may wonder why the Park District is in the parking business, or at least why it does not double-deck the lot and put park land on top of it. These questions are particularly relevant in light of the fact that Chicago ranks 44th of the 50 largest cities in per capita park acreage.

THE National Recreation and Park Association, which compiled the figures in 1961, shows Chicago with 2.1 acres of park land per thousand of population. N.R.P.A. showed the leader, Phoenix, Ariz., with 51.8 acres per thousand. The generally accepted standard is ten acres per thousand.

The statistics don't show whether the Park District included roads, parking lots and other non-park usages in its reported acreage. The question of how close to a roadway

recreation can proceed is also hidden. A ball game or picnic hard by the shoulder of Lake Shore Drive is both unpleasant and hazardous.

Erwin Weiner, the Park District's embattled general superintendent, has attacked these figures because they don't include the Cook County Forest Preserves outside the city while other reporting cities included park lands outside city limits. Joseph Pendergast, N.R.P.A. executive vice president, replies: "Denver and Los Angeles own and manage areas outside their political boundaries. . . . That's one of the ways a city can provide parks and recreation areas for its residents. . . ."

Gross acreage figures do hide some valuable information about where the parks and people are. Most of the forest preserves can be reached only by car. For this reason they are not easily accessible to many of the low-income groups in Chicago which need open space the most. This is true, of course, in every major city.

What hurts the disadvantaged, hurts the rest of the city, too. Dutch experts single out crowding as one factor related to a high crime rate. Dr. Arie Querido, president of the National Federation of Mental Health of the Netherlands, asks: "Is the city population approaching the state of rats, which, under conditions of experimental crowding, refuse to breed and start fighting each other?"

The advantaged as well as the disadvantaged face what the World Health Organization calls "mental pollution." Motor traffic not only pollutes the air with its exhaust gases, but the noise it creates "substantially contributes to nervous disease, insomnia, nervous tension, ill temper and accidents." In the face of this, the health organization has appealed to all to make cities better places in which to live.

Meanwhile, what M. W. Newman of the *Chicago Daily News* calls "the creeping non-green" continues to take over the parks. The proposed expansion of McCormick Place is the latest proposal to stir the ire of the citizenry. Though the addition would be built on an existing parking lot, critics argue that soon more parking space would be required and more of Burnham Park would be paved.

It is true that when the Park District yields land to some other agency for non-park purposes, it tries to obtain compensation — usually in land somewhere else. One result of

this policy was the landfill project in Jackson Park which transformed the part of the lagoon set aside as a bird sanctuary into ball fields. The ball fields were relocated in the 1950's after an Army Nike site was built in Jackson Park. The ball players are happy, it is true, but the bird watchers still nurse a grudge — and the birds which no longer nest there haven't been heard from.

Most often, such barter exchanges produce land less accessible and less useful than the land surrendered. An example is the landfill to replace 14 acres near McCormick Place taken by the Stevenson Expressway interchange. This new land will be cut off from the city by a parking lot and a 38-foot-high maze of highway ramps.

"I have found the highway experts who lay out these roads to be brutally unconcerned about other values than the mere movement of traffic."

PAUL DOUGLAS
United States Senator

THE conflict has made Chicago's citizens design-conscious as well parks-conscious. They watch with interest as Thomas F. P. Hoving, New York City's Parks Commissioner, experiments with "vest-pocket parks" on small lots in the Manhattan and Brooklyn slums. Hoving's "parklets" are a new departure from the W.P.A. style playgrounds of blacktop, slides, and swings. New materials, new shapes, new uses are embodied in these neighborhood parks, constructed in cooperation with new community groups fostered by the anti-poverty program.

A similar project is underway this year in Chicago, sponsored not by the Park District but by the local arm of the anti-poverty program. However, the goals of the Chicago program are limited to clearing the lots, planting grass, and supplying benches.

Chicago's own contribution to new park design might well be the development of contoured park land. In a flat city a small hill is welcome for sledding in winter and for picnicking in summer. The delight of a small child rolling down a grassy hill is worth the additional cost of the earth needed to build the hill. A start has

The Fighting Conservationists

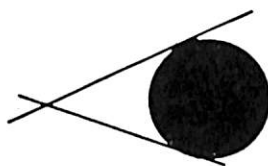
been made by incorporating slopes in new parks in urban renewal areas, but they are either not steep enough for sledding, or are slanted so that the sled is aimed into a busy street.

Aroused by the Jackson Park battle, the residents of Chicago are gazing with a newly jaundiced eye at the cumulative effects of years of mismanagement of the city's parks. Old-line organizations such as the Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago and the Metropolitan Housing and Planning Council have followed the lead of the more militant community groups in expressing their concerns. The Committee for Chicago's Parks, in the process of organizing, hopes to serve as a "watchdog" group, recommending improvements to the Park District and guarding against further misappropriation of park land.

The new committee will have an opportunity to prove itself when the Park District unveils a preliminary study of the lakefront parks. The \$100,000 study, began last fall in the wake of the Jackson Park confrontation, will suggest ways to make the lakefront more accessible to more people throughout the year. John G. Duba, the city's Commissioner of Development and Planning, is working closely with the Park District on the study.

With the lakefront study and a report for the redesigning of Jackson Park prepared by a private consulting firm in the wake of the Burnham Committee protests, Chicago has a chance to redeem itself. If city and Park District officials provide proper funding for implementing the planners' designs and take a solid stand against further inroads on park lands by the pressures of urban growth and special interests, Chicago can accept the challenge to maintain, restore, and expand its priceless heritage of lakefront parks. Then children and adults alike in every future age can know the lake as Burnham knew it: "A living thing, delighting man's eye and refreshing his spirit."

George Leposky is a reporter with Chicago's American. Since 1965, he has covered the Chicago parks controversy. He received his B.A. and M.A. in political science from Washington University.



THE RIGHT WING

An earlier issue of FOCUS/Midwest (Vol. III, No. 6/7) carried a "Roster of the Right Wing and the Fanatics" describing 45 organizations located or active in the Illinois-Missouri area. This column, "The Right Wing," will keep our readers abreast of new developments. Together with the "Roster" it offers an up-to-date service. Copies of "The Roster" are available at \$1.00 each.

JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

A New England Rally for God, Family and Country addressed by Dr. Nevilo P. Oliver, former contributing editor of the Birchite magazine *American Opinion*, was noted for its anti-Semitic villifications. In a 65-minute diatribe, Dr. Oliver told the rally that the "conspiracy of the Jews" predated "the conspiracy of the Illuminati and the Communists." He asserted that one of the major causes of student protests on American college campuses was the use of drugs, particularly LSD, which he said was "imported from Israel." Robert Welch, founder of the Society, was a leading figure at the three-day rally.

From *The St. Louis Jewish Light*

FLICK-REEDY

The National Labor Relations Board has filed suit to compel Frank C. Flick, president of Flick-Reedy Corporation of Bensenville, to make his records available to a NLRB examiner. The International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers complained that Flick confiscated union leaflets and placed a "Vote No" sign over the ballot box. Flick was summoned before an examiner twice but failed to appear. The Flick-Reedy corporation is known for its sponsorship of and participation in numerous right-wing affairs. It sponsors the Flick-Reedy Education Association, registered as a non-profit organization. (For details about the Flick's deep involvement in the Liberty Amendment, We! The People, Christian Crusade, Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation, National Education Program, Heritage Foundation, and other right-wing activities see Vol. III, Number 6.)

Volume V, Number 33

ILLINOIS COMMITTEE FOR THE CONSTITUTION, INC.

The Committee was chartered on June 28, 1966. The chairman, Julius W. Butler of Oak Brook, declared that the primary goal of the organization is to insure that all provisions of the U.S. Constitution are respected. Also on the executive committee are George Ray Hudson, vice president, and Mrs. Stanley T. Olds, secretary.

Julius Butler is the organizer of the "Defenders of American Liberties" and one of the incorporators in 1962. The group started in Chicago and later moved to Dallas, Texas. He was also a member of the Chicago Committee for Walker in 1962. Mrs. Butler manages the American Opinion Birch Society bookstore in River Forest.

LIBERTY LOBBY

The *Anti-Defamation League Bulletin* reports that there are indications that Liberty Lobby is involved in the reorganized *American Mercury* magazine. "Listed as chairman of the Mercury's Board is Bruce Holman, an Oakland Calif. realtor associated with Willis Carto as financial backer of *Right* in the late 1950's. (Carto is the guiding spirit behind Liberty Lobby.) Before that, Holman was secretary of Liberty and Property, the forerunner of Liberty Lobby. Contributing Mercury editors include the following:

"Stanley M. Andrews, chairman of Americans for National Security, a front group for Liberty Lobby, and a member of Liberty Lobby's board of policy; Austin J. App; Ivor Benson, formerly a contributing editor to "Western Destiny;" Richard Cotten, anti-Semitic publisher and radio broadcaster; Mary M. Davison, a member of Liberty Lobby's board of policy and author of the book "Secret Government of the United States," which has anti-Jewish connotations; Henry E. Garrett, a former Columbia University psychology professor whose booklet "How Classroom Desegregation Will Work" has been distributed widely by segregationists; C. M. Goethe, a well-to-do 91-year-old retired businessman who for more than two decades has been a prolific letter-writer and author of booklets on such subjects as blood types, race, heredity, and the need for racial purity. Goethe was a contributing editor to "Western Destiny" and a financial contributor to Gerald Smith; Joseph P. Kamp, an extremist pamphleteer whose work is peppered with anti-Semitic innuendo. Kamp is a member of Liberty Lobby's board of policy; Ned Touchstone, editor of "The Councilor," blatantly racist and anti-Semitic organ of the White Citizens Council of Louisiana, and a member of Liberty Lobby's board of policy; Edward Vargas, an artist who was editor of "Right" and a contributing editor of "Western Destiny;" General Edwin A. Walker; Glen O. Young, a member of Liberty Lobby's board of policy and identified with a number of extreme right-wing groups including the Congress of Freedom, U.S. Day Committee, and We! The People. He is on the Committee of Endorsers of the John Birch Society and is a trustee of Billy James Hargis' "Christian Crusade."

MINUTEMEN

Robert Bolivar DePugh, leader of the Minutemen, and his secretary, Mrs. Cyndra Melville, were indicted by a federal grand jury and charged

with violations of the U.S. firearms act. Also indicted were Walter Patrick Peyson of Northborne, Mo.; James Tollerton of Linneus, Mo.; John E. Blumer of Manchester, Mo.; and Troy Haughton, of San Diego, Calif.

NATIONAL STUDENT COMMITTEE FOR VICTORY IN VIETNAM

A front group for the Young Americans for Freedom was recently announced in St. Louis. Michael W. Thompson, state Missouri chairman of the YAF, announced that the NSC wants to become the voice of "the overwhelming majority of American students" who support the concept of victory in Vietnam. The group plans to publish over 100,000 pamphlets on 750 campuses, conduct an "honest survey" of the academic community on this issue, and have a Victory in Vietnam parade in Washington next spring. Thompson admitted that the new group will initially work closely with the YAF in seeking likeminded contacts on campuses.

TRIUMPH

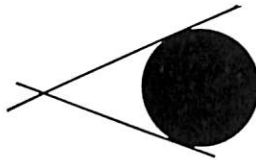
A group of Catholic layman launched a new monthly magazine called *Triumph*. The *St. Louis Review*, official Catholic weekly, reports that they are popularly known as "conservatives." One of the founders and editors is L. Brent Bozell, former senior editor of the *National Review*, which is edited by his brother-in-law William Buckley. The *St. Louis Review* reports that Bozell disavowed "financial support from the Schick Safety Razor Co., a well known contributor to right wing political causes, saying the company simply paid the regular rates for its full page advertisement in the magazine's first issue. He dodged a question concerning the magazine's connection with the political right, when asked his position on the controversial John Birch society."

TRAIN COMMITTEES

According to Robert Welch, the TRAIN Committees are "to train our fellow citizens, and especially those of college age . . . to get us out" of the United Nations. Such Birch-fronts have already been formed in Dallas and Spokane.

WTAQ, CHICAGO

Radio Station WTAQ offers regularly these programs at 12:30 p.m. Monday - The Manion Forum; Tuesday - The John Birch Report; Wednesday - The Christian Liberty Message; Thursday - The Dan Smoot Report; Friday - Analysis of the News.



VOTING RECORDS

While the Second Extra Session of the 73rd Missouri General Assembly took place in the first half of this year, the coming general elections make this an opportune time to present the voting records of the incumbents. Earlier we published a special issue (Vol. 4 Nos. 5-6) covering the regular assemblies of Missouri and Illinois. It offered description and votes on 93 key bills before the 1965 Illinois General Assembly and on 59 key bills before the 1965 Missouri General Assembly. (This voting record issues is an exclusive service for subscribers and can only be obtained with a regular subscription.)

NOTE: Since nearly every bill was revised in Senate and House Committees and had to be reconciled in Conference Committees, the bills were voted upon several times. If significant, more than one vote is recorded.

The boldface letters in the descriptions of the bills refer to the votes recorded below. Unanimous votes are not recorded.

KEY

SB: Senate Bill
HB: House Bill
SCS: Senate Committee Substitute
HCS: House Committee Substitute
CCS: Conference Committee Substitute
SS: Senate Substitute
Gov: Governor
Appr: Approved

Y: Affirmative Vote
N: Negative Vote
P: Present but not voting
A: Absent

HB20: SCHOOL AID: Increases state aid to school districts. Hse passed 4-12-66 (155:0). A: Hse adopted SCS 4-27-66 (118:36). Sen passed SCS 4-26-66 (28:0). Gov Appr 5-18-66.

HB26: SHARED TIME: Entitles public school districts to receive state aid in proportionate amounts for pupils who are residents of school districts and who attend classes for only part of the school day in a public school of the district. D: Hse passed 4-25-66 (104:45). Died in Sen Educ Comm.

SB3: PAY INCREASES: Raises salaries of members of State Board of Probation and Parole. E: Sen

passed SCS 4-13-66 (21:16). F: Hse passed SCS 4-21-66 (128:19). Gov Appr 5-11-66.

SB7 FULLTIME PROSECUTOR: Provides that job of prosecuting attorney shall be full time. G: Sen passed SCS 4-21-66 (25:6). H: Hse passed SCS 4-27-66 (144:1). Gov Appr 5-18-66.

SB8: BILLBOARD DISPLAY: Regulates outdoor advertising adjacent to interstate and highway systems. I: Sen passed SCS 3-30-66 (22:7). J: adopted CCS 5-2-66 (21:11). K: Hse passed HCS 4-26-66 (112:33). L: passed CCS 5-3-66 (97:57). Gov. Appr 5-20-66.

(Unless the coming General Assembly revises the measure, Missouri may lose \$10 million in federal highway aid. The present bill allows county courts to exempt roadside areas, which is not acceptable to federal agencies.)

SB9: JUNKYARDS: Regulates junkyards along highways. M: Sen passed SCS 3-30-66 (24:6). N: adopted CCS 5-3-66 (31:1). O: Hse passed 4-26-66 (116:21). P: adopted CCS 5-3-66 (118:31). Gov Appr 5-20-66.

SB10: AREA BEAUTIFICATION: Authorizes state highway commission to acquire, maintain, and improve areas necessary for the restoration, preservation, and enhancement of scenic beauty adjacent to state highways. Q: Sen passed SCS 4-11-66 (30:2). adopted CCS 5-2-66 (32:0). S: Hse passed HCS 4-26-66 (132:19). T: adopted CCS 5-3-66 (116:23).

SB14: PLANNING COMMISSION: Establishes state and regional comprehensive planning commission and development agency. U: Sen passed 4-13-66 (23:6). V: Hse passed 4-27-66 (143:2). Gov Appr 5-20-66.

SB15: ANTI-FENCING: Increases penalty for receiving stolen goods. W: Sen passed 4-27-66 (19:13). Hse Comm recommended do not pass 4-26-66.

SJR1: SUCCESSION AMENDMENT: Resolution is Missouri's ratification of the amendment to U.S. Constitution dealing with succession of President and Vice President. Sen passed 3-23-66 (24:0). X: Hse passed 3-30-66 (93:42).

SJR2: SCHOOL TAX RATE: Provides that when a proposed increase in the tax rate of a school district fails, the tax rate shall remain the rate in force. 10% of voters of any district may petition for a reduction in the tax rate. Y: Sen passed SCS 4-26-66 (21:9). Z: Hse passed HCS 5-3-66 (138:6). Bill died when Hse refused to grant conference to Sen to reconcile bills.

MISSOURI HOUSE VOTES

	A	D	F	H	K	L	O	P	S	T	V	X	Z
Allen (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Allmon (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Arnold (Pulaski) (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Arnold (Stone) (D)	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Baker (Randolph) (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Baker (Stoddard) (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y
Bassman (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Bauer (Harrison) (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Bauer (Jackson) (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Beckerle (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Belt (R)	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Berry (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Betz (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Beydler (R)	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Bollinger (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	A	Y	A	Y	Y	Y
Brandwein (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Brenton (R)	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	P	N	N	N
Broomfield (D)	Y	Y	Y	A	A	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y
Butler (D)	Y	A	Y	Y	A	Y	A	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y
Callow (R)	Y	A	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Calloway (D)	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Campbell (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	A	Y	N	Y	Y
Canaday (D)	Y	A	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	A	Y	Y
Cannon (D)	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Cantrell (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y
Carnahan (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Carter (R)	Y	N	Y	A	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	A	N	Y	Y
Case (R)	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Casey (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	A	A	Y	A	Y	A	A	A
Childers (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Clements (D)	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Comstock (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Conley (D)	A	A	A	A	A	Y	A	Y	A	Y	A	Y	Y
Connors (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Copeland (D)	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	A	Y	A	Y	A	A	A	A
Cox (D)	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Crigley (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Crockett (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y

	A	D	F	H	K	L	O	P	S	T	V	X	Z
Croley (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dames (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Davidson (D)	A	N	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y
Davis (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y
DeCoster (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	P	Y	N	N	Y
Degenhardt (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Devoy (D)	Y	A	Y	Y	A	N	A	Y	A	Y	Y	N	Y
Dickey (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	P	Y
Dickson (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dinger (D)	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Duensing (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	A	Y	A	Y	Y
Ellis (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Fickle (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Flakne (D)	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	A
Foley (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Frost (D)	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Gann (R)	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Garner (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	A	A
Garrett (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Gault (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	A	Y	A	A
Glover (D)	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	A	A	Y
Goddard (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Godfrey (D)	N	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Goode (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Gosser (R)	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Graham (Speaker) (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	A
Grallike (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Grellner (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Groce (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y
Growney (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hancock (D)	Y	N	A	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hankins (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	A
Hardy (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y
Harlow (R)	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Harris (D)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Heckemeyer (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Henson (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hibler (D)	Y	A	Y	Y	A	N	A	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y

	A	D	F	H	K	L	O	P	S	T	V	X	Z
Hickey (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Holland (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Holliday (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Howard (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
James (Taney) (R)	N	N	Y	A	Y	N	A	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y
Jasper (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Jordan (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kay (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Keane (D)	N	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kennedy (D)	Y	A	Y	Y	A	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
King (Dunklin) (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
King (Hickory) (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
King (St L Co) (R)	N	Y	A	Y	Y	A	Y	A	Y	A	Y	A	A
Kostron (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lane (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lisle (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mann (R)	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	A	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Masters (D)	Y	N	N	A	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	A	A	Y	Y
Maughmer (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mazzuca (Jackson) (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mazzuca (St L) (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
McCubbin (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
McFadin (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
McMullin (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Melton (R)	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Meyer (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mickelson (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y
Misbauer (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Niewoehner (D)	Y	N	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Noland (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
O'Connor (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
O'Reilly (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Owen (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Pace (Marion) (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Pace (Morgan) (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Patterson (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A
Petrovic (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Phelps (R)	N	A	A	Y	A	A	A	A	A	Y	A	A	A
Portell (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	A
Proffer (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Rabbitt (D)	A	Y	Y	A	A	Y	A	A	A	Y	A	A	Y
Raiffie (D)	N	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Rains (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Reed (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Roberts (D)	A	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	A
Robinson (Jackson) (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Robinson (Knox) (D)	P	P	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	P
Rolwing (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Ross (D)	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Rothman (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Russell (Laclede) (R)	A	N	Y	A	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	A	N	Y
Russell (St L Co) (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ryan (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
St. Peter (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	A	N	Y	Y
Salley (D)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Scaglia (D)	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Schapeler (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Schramm (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Seay (D)	N	Y	A	Y	A	Y	A	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Shaver (D)	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Sheehan (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Shuey (D)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Simcoe (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	A	Y	A	Y	A	Y	A	A
Sims (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Skaggs (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Snider (D)	A	A	A	A	A	N	A	N	A	Y	A	A	Y
Southern (D)	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Spainhower (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	A	Y	A	Y	A	A	A
Speer (R)	N	Y	A	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y
Sponsler (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	A	Y	N	Y	Y
Stotts (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stutler (D)	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	N	Y	Y
Thomas (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y
Troupe (D)	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y
Uthlaut (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	A	N	Y	Y
Vaughan (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Walsh (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	A	Y	A	A	Y
Warden (R)	A	Y	Y	A	A	N	A	N	N	N	A	A	Y
Weber (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Wells (D)	N	N	N	Y	N	A	Y	A	Y	A	Y	N	A

	A	D	F	H	K	L	O	P	S	T	V	X	Z
Whitney (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Wigfield (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	A
Williams (Buchanan) D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Williams (Pike) (D)	N	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y
Young (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Zeilmann (R)	N	N	Y	Y	N	A	N	N	N	N	Y	N	A
Zimmerman (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	P	N	Y	Y	P	N	Y	N	Y

MISSOURI SENATE VOTES

	E	G	I	J	M	N	Q	U	W	Y
Avery (D)	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	N
Berra (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Blackwell (D)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	A	Y	N	Y
Brancato (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cason (D)	A	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A
Cox (R)	Y	Y	N	A	N	N	Y	Y	A	N
Curtis (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Downs (D)	A	Y	Y	A	Y	A	Y	Y	A	Y
Hatcher (R)	A	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	A	N	N
Hill (R)	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Hopfinger (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Johnson (D)	A	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	A	N	Y
Jones (St L Co) (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Jones (10th D) (R)	Y	N	A	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Joynt (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Keating (D)	Y	Y	A	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kelly (R)	N	Y	A	N	A	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Kinney (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Linehan (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
McNeal (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Mackie (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	A
Owens (R)	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Patterson (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Pentland (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Schechter (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Somerville (D)	A	N	N	N	N	Y	N	A	N	N
Spradling (D)	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A
Taylor (R)	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Tinnin (D)	Y	A	A	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Vanlandingham (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	A	Y	Y	N
Waters (D)	A	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	A	N	Y
Webster (R)	Y	Y	A	Y	A	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Woolsey (R)	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	A
Young (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y

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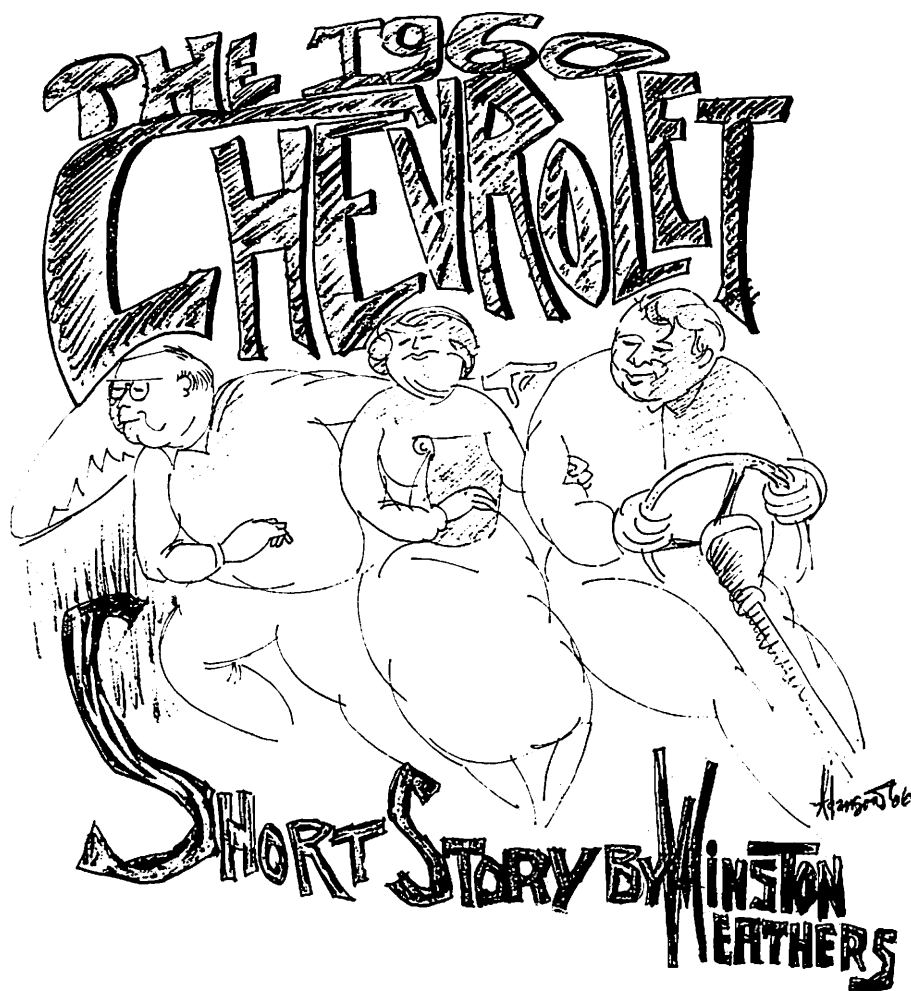
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NAME

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CITY ZIP STATE

OCCUPATION



We called it the Chevrolet garden because the first car ever planted there was a 1960 Impala that Uncle Riordan had had the wreck with. Then came Mrs. Sullivan's Packard coupe with the white sidewalls. The coupe was pastel blue and it looked quite pretty up against the red Chevrolet.

Mama just had a coronary fit when someone — even without asking — planted a yellow MG right by the side of the Chevrolet — “We ain’t running a dumpyard!” she cried — but I explained to her (quite ingeniously I thought) that it wasn’t a dumpyard at all but a veritable garden: bright metal four-o’clocks flashing in the sunlight. She finally accepted that and we were in the dump business ever after, with Papa seeing to the dumping of all those wrecks clear up over the hillside, and Mama sitting on the backporch, peeling potatoes, singing in the sunset, just like she was looking out on a congregation of marigolds and roses.

“Next year,” she’d say, “I do hope we can have more pinks on the south

end there. I think we’re getting too many browns bunched up down in that part.”

Papa became exceptionally clever at arranging the colors, mixing the colors in together so Mama would have an increasingly magnificent garden to look at. “You can dump that Plymouth down there to the left, boys. And take that DeSoto up beyond the green Nash.”

The only trouble Papa ever had was if Mama called for just a dash of some unusual color at some particular place — say lavender or silver or pure white. Then sometimes he’d fuss around for a number of weeks before he’d find the necessary wreckage. When he did find some old fender of lime green or watermelon pink he’d bring it home, proud as a peacock, and plant it right where Mama would tell him to.

Mama liked best of all the two-tone jobs. I remember one razzle-dazzle convertible in particular.

No one ever really appreciated the fact that I’m the creative one in the family, and I’m the one who brought up the whole idea of the garden in

the first place. Not that I’m jealous of the idea, of course. If I can think up something that’ll make everybody happier, so much the better. It’s because I had one year at Latoona Junior College, I think. My being creative I mean. My being capable of seeing the garden, of saying that it was all a garden.

When I went off to Latoona I made the discovery that I am a clever young man. Everybody said so. “You have the eyes of a poet,” Miss Elizabeth Markham, my history teacher, said. “You can see more unusual things that aren’t really there.”

Not that I want anyone to give me any special credit for the garden, and I certainly have never held it against any of them that I didn’t get to go on to Latoona another year. I came home to help out the best I could. “So you’re clever,” Papa said, “You can be clever right here around the house.”

I’d sometimes sit on the backporch helping Mama peel the potatoes, and I’d just look out over the Chevrolet garden, thinking to myself that if you don’t have the eyes of a poet you aren’t going to ever see anything at all. There wouldn’t be any garden there at all if I hadn’t got it started, if I hadn’t planted it, if I hadn’t cultivated it for them.

“Ain’t it beautiful?” Mama will ask.

What I want to say is: if it weren’t for me, I do declare you’d be living in a dump, the biggest damn dump you can imagine.

Mrs. Sullivan’s daughter Cora did say it was a dump. Not to Mama or Papa, of course. But to me.

She came over one evening to take a little stroll with me, and I said we ought to perambulate among the daisies and the tulips.

“Where they at?” she asked.

“Why, haven’t you seen our flower garden, Miss Cora?”

“No, I ain’t.”

“Well,” I said, “I certainly want to show it to you.” I took her up on the hillside and said, “This is Chevrolet garden.”

“You’re kidding,” she said.

“Can’t you just see how beautiful it is with the moonlight on it?”

She said a dump was a dump to her, no matter if you called it the Taj Mahal. But how she ever heard of the Taj Mahal I’ll never have a clue, since she never even had half a day at Latoona Junior College.

"Well, let's just sit down here in this razzle-dazzle convertible," I said, "and I'll try to explain things to you."

We sat there in the dark, with moonlight spilling through the cracked windowglass, seeing the world so strange and wonderful through the splintering ragged lines of an asterisk. It was like you were looking beyond and beyond, into the heart of a star.

"We can go anywhere you want to go," I said. "Where'll it be?"

"What you talking about?"

I grabbed the steering wheel — zoom, zoom — and floorboarded the old razzle-dazzle hardtop Pontiac convertible. "How about Mobile," I said. "Or Tampa, Florida. You name it."

"You're crazy," Cora said.

So I tried to explain to the sweet young thing my whole philosophy of life, the whole wonderful way I had of seeing things, the way I had discovered at Latoona before I had to stop and come home. And I was telling Cora some very clever and perceptive things about how to use your God-given eyes, when all of a sudden we could hear Mama singing off in the darkness.

"What in kingdom come's that?" Cora asked.

"That's Mama singing," I said.

"What in kingdom come for?" Cora asked.

"Because she's happy," I told her. "Mama sits on the backporch even at night and looks out over the Chevrolet garden and feels real good about everything."

"You're all crazy," Cora said. "You're crazy. Your Mama's crazy. Your Papa's crazy."

"We're all poets," I said.

"A dump's a dump," Cora said. She got out of the car. "And you ain't going nowhere—to Baton Rouge or Biloxi or any damned place else."

She'd have slammed the car door shut, but I'll swear if it didn't fall off right in her hands, clattering so loud that Mama stopped singing, abruptly, thinking she'd heard the petal of a flower thundering to the ground.

When the authorities moved in and told us to get rid of our garden, I was just furious. I was furious I hadn't learned more at Latoona about dealing with dictatorial, totalitarian, and reactionary governments. For one whole year we'd worked getting the hillside planted pretty and just right. And now they wanted us to bury it. Or haul it away they said. Clean up the hill they said.

Then one day they brought some papers and showed them to Papa and Mama and me. "But this ain't no dump," Mama cried. "It's my flower garden."

"My son here's been to school," Papa said. "A very clever young man—"

I tried to stop Papa from bragging in the face of disaster, because if I'd learned anything from all the intelligent people over at Latoona it was that not everybody sees everything the same. I learned that from Miss Cora Sullivan, too. Some people are blind as bats. Not a bit clever about looking at a twisted chassis.

The man said he didn't give a damn about anything except clearing out the dump because the new houses were going up right across the highway and we couldn't spoil everything for everybody else.

When the man left I said, "Don't you worry. I didn't go to Latoona Junior College for nothing."

That afternoon I got Mama and Papa to pack a little lunch and I told them that we should take a stroll up through the Chevrolet garden, just take a leisurely stroll to see how things were doing, to start making our plans for next season, a kind of inspection tour of all the flowers.

We went about three o'clock up through the blue Dodges and the green Hudsons and the red Mercurys, and we all remarked on what a beautiful day it was. What a beautiful garden it was.

And when we came to the red 1960 Impala Chevrolet that Uncle Riordan had first brought to the garden, I said why didn't we just get in there and sit down for awhile. Then I said, "Mama, why don't you sing us a song."

So she did.

And I said, "Where do you want to go, Papa?"

And he said, "I've never been nowhere. I ain't a clever man at all. I wouldn't know where to go."

"Well," I said, "you just look out the windshield and I'll show you a thing or two. Don't you see that wonderful city up there — just over the hill? That's New Orleans. See the big buildings? See all the people?"

Mama, singing away, clutched the lunch basket on her lap. Papa leaned forward to see out the window. Zoom, zoom. Shift gears. Zoom, zoom. And I'll swear we roared away through the Chevrolet garden, through brilliant flowers, through the mass of

shining blossoms, up over the hill, scattering a rainbow of colors, a whirlwind of poetry, raising up a storm of lilacs and chrysanthemums and petunias and all things beautiful, and Papa cried, "You're going too fast, son! You're going too fast!"

"The wind's blowing my hair!" Mama cried, all of a sudden laughing.

"But we got to get there!" I cried back at them. "I promised I'd get you there!"

And I always tried, of course, to keep my promises. To do my duty. To take care of Papa and Mama. And I never for a moment resented it. Or had a thought of turning back, down the hillside, into the blindness and the darkness.

Winston Weathers is with the Department of English, The University of Tulsa. His stories have appeared in New Mexico Quarterly, North American Review, and Today Magazine. Other writings have appeared in Commonweal, Texas Quarterly, Colorado Quarterly, Minnesota Quarterly, and Furioso.

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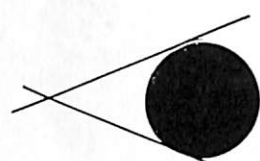


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Political Intelligence

MISSOURI's governor has his difficulties. It is not that he ever had easy sailing, but as time goes by his political ship is encountering rougher waters.

The disenchantment between the leaders of Steamfitter Local 562 (St. Louis) and Missouri Governor Warren E. Hearnes has turned into outright hostility. The politically powerful Local will oppose any candidate endorsed by the Governor if at all possible. The labor group's leverage comes from its substantial financial support. In terms of votes the threat means little.

For example, the Democratic nominee for the 26th Senatorial District, William Corrigan, was one of six candidates in the primary. When the Governor tacitly supported him, the Steamfitters chose to oppose him.

Although Local 562 contributed heavily to the Governor's uphill election campaign, it is common knowledge that he was later forced to refuse some of their many demands for patronage jobs. As the Governor is supposed to have said, "they want everything."

Governor Warren E. Hearnes' endorsement of William S. Morris, the only Jackson County official to win without the endorsement of the re-

formist "Committee for County Progress," has solidified the Governor's strength, but hasn't necessarily endeared him to Kansas City politicians.

Hearnes also has the St. Louis blues. In return for past favors, he had to endorse Rep. Harry C. Raiffie in preference to several excellent Negro candidates. Raiffie, who is white, has a nearly all-Negro constituency. One of the defeated candidates, dynamic Ruth C. Porter, executive director of the St. Louis Freedom of Residence group, came close to winning the primary and has now filed as an independent for the general election, which she will most likely win.

It appears that Hearnes' Truman-like loyalty to those who helped him in the past will cause him increasing trouble.

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